

Message Text

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THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE BY BERNARD GWERTZMAN APPEARED ON THE
FRONT PAGE OF THE NEW YORK TIMES OF THURSDAY, APRIL 13.

BEGIN TEXT:

SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS R. VANCE LEFT TONIGHT ON A LONG
MISSION TO SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE SOVIET UNION THAT
ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS EXPECTED TO PRODUCE NO MORE THAN
MODEST RESULTS IN BOTH CRUCIAL AREAS.

DESPITE THE LIMITED EXPECTATIONS, THE TRIP IS LIKELY TO BE
ONE OF MR. VANCE'S MOST GRUELING AND DIFFICULT.

IN ADDITION TO PREVIOUSLY DISCLOSED STOPS IN TANZANIA AND
RHODESIA--THE FIRST TIME A SECRETARY OF STATE HAS GONE TO
RHODESIA, A STATE DECLARED "ILLEGAL" BY THE UNITED NATIONS--
MR. VANCE IS ALSO EXPECTED TO FLY TO SOUTH AFRICA TO SEEK
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THE HELP OF THE GOVERNMENT IN PERSUADING THE SALISBURY
LEADERS TO RECONSIDER THEIR DECISION NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN
A CONFERENCE OF ALL PARTIES ON RHODESIA.

IF SUCH A CONFERENCE OCCURS, MR. VANCE WILL ATTEND AFTER
HIS MOSCOW TRIP IS OVER ON APRIL 23.

THE DUAL MISSION OF DEALING WITH THE RHODESIAN CRISIS IN AFRICA AND MAKING PROGRESS IN THE ARMS TALKS IN MOSCOW FACES MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE OBSTACLES. BUT, IN ADDITION, THE VANCE MISSION HAS BEEN BURDENED BY OTHER PROBLEMS-- WHAT SOME SEE AS A WEAKENING OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S STATURE ABROAD AND DISAGREEMENTS WITHIN THE ADMINISTRATION.

IN RECENT DAYS, SOME WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN PRIVATELY COMPLAINING TO SOME JOURNALISTS ABOUT THE ABILITY OF MR. VANCE AND SOME OF HIS AIDES TO DEAL WITH THE RUSSIANS. THE MAIN CRITICISM APPEARS TO BE THAT MR. VANCE AND HIS TOP AIDES, INCLUDING MARSHALL D. SHULMAN, HIS SENIOR SOVIET ADVISER, ARE OVERLY CONCERNED ABOUT ACHIEVING A STRATEGIC ARMS ACCORD AND ARE NOT PREPARED TO PRESS THE RUSSIANS HARD ENOUGH ABOUT THEIR MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN THE HORN OF AFRICA AND ABOUT OTHER NEW SOVIET MOVES.

THE WHITE HOUSE AIDES HAVE COMPLAINED THAT MR. VANCE AND MR. SHULMAN, IN EFFECT UNDERCUT A TOUGH SPEECH GIVEN BY MR. CARTER LAST MONTH AT WAKE FOREST, N.C., BY HAVING MR. SHULMAN CALL THE SOVIET EMBASSY AND ADVISE OFFICIALS THERE TO SEND THE ENTIRE TEXT OF THE SPEECH TO MOSCOW SO THAT SOVIET OFFICIALS WOULD BE AWARE OF CONCILIATORY PARTS IN IT AS WELL AS SECTIONS EMPHASIZED IN THE PRESS.

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STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS WERE ANNOYED, IN TURN, THAT THE SPEECH, WRITTEN BY THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL STAFF, WAS NOT SHOWN TO THEM IN ADVANCE FOR SUGGESTIONS.

DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN MR. VANCE AND ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI, THE WHITE HOUSE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER, OVER HOW FORCEFULLY TO LINK THE STRATEGIC ARMS TALKS AND OTHER ISSUES HAVE BEEN APPARENT FOR SOME TIME. PRIVATELY, AIDES TO BOTH MEN NOW COMPLAIN ABOUT THE OTHER'S STYLE AND APPROACH, ALTHOUGH PUBLICLY BOTH MEN INSIST THEIR PERSONAL RELATIONS ARE STILL GOOD.

A LAST-DITCH APPEAL

THE FIRST PART OF THE VANCE TRIP IS DEVOTED TO A JOINT EFFORT WITH DR. DAVID OWEN, THE BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY TO PERSUADE THE COMPETING SIDES OF THE RHODESIAN DISPUTE TO AGREE TO AN ALL-PARTIES CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS WAYS OF FINDING A FORMULA ACCEPTABLE TO THEM ALL. THE ODDS FOR ACHIEVING SUCH A CONFERENCE SEEM SLIM BECAUSE TWO DAYS AGO THE LEADERS OF THE NEW INTERIM GOVERNMENT IN SALISBURY

REJECTED SUCH A MEETING WITH THE GUERRILLA LEADERS WHO FORM THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.

BUT MR. VANCE, CONCERNED THAT FULLSCALE WAR MIGHT OTHERWISE START IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, POSSIBLY INVOLVING RUSSIANS AND CUBANS, PLANS TO MAKE WHAT AN AIDE DESCRIBED AS A "LAST-DITCH" APPEAL. TO DO THIS, MR. VANCE INTENDS NOT ONLY TO MAKE THE HISTORIC FIRST TRIP TO RHODESIA, BUT ALSO TO FLY TO PRETORIA TO SEEK PRIME MINISTER VORSTER'S SUPPORT, EVEN THOUGH RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION AND SOUTH AFRICA ARE EXTREMELY POOR.

AFTER REFUELING STOPS IN SPAIN AND THE SUDAN, MR. VANCE IS DUE IN DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA, TOMORROW NIGHT FOR UNCLASSIFIED

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WEEKEND TALKS WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS, JOSHUA NKOMO AND ROBERT MUGABE, AS WELL AS WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTERS FROM THE COUNTRIES NEIGHBORING ON RHODESIA, KNOWN AS "THE FRONT-LINE STATES." THESE COUNTRIES ARE COMMITTED TO BRINGING ABOUT A GOVERNMENT DOMINATED BY BLACKS IN RHODESIA, OR WHAT THEY CALL ZIMBABWE, TO REPLACE THE GOVERNMENT HEADED BY PRIME MINISTER IAN D. SMITH.

LAST MONTH, THE MOVE THAT HAS CAUSED CONTROVERSY IN THE WEST, MR. SMITH AND THREE MODERATE BLACK LEADERS PUT INTO OPERATION THE SO-CALLED "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT" THAT GUARANTEES A NEW INDEPENDENT RHODESIA AT THE END OF THE YEAR WITH BLACKS HAVING CONSIDERABLY MORE POWER, BUT WITH WHITES, WHO MAKE UP ABOUT 3 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION, STILL IN EFFECTIVE CONTROL OF THE SECURITY FORCES AND HAVING A VETO ON IMPORTANT MEASURES.

THE BRITISH-AMERICAN PLAN

THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN MADE PUBLIC EARLIER A JOINT PLAN FOR TRANSITION TO A BLACK GOVERNMENT THAT CALLED FOR A BRITISH COMMISSIONER, LORD CARVER, TO BE IN CHARGE OF THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT, AND WITH A UNITED NATIONS FORCE TO BE INVOLVED IN SECURITY ALONG WITH A RHODESIAN FORCE, COMPOSED OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT GUERRILLAS AND SOME REGULAR RHODESIAN FORCES.

THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IN JANUARY REJECTED THE BRITISH-AMERICAN PLAN BUT NOW, UNDER PRESSURE FROM PRESIDENT JULIUS K. NYERERE OF TANZANIA AND OTHER "FRONT-LINE" STATES, APPEARS CLOSER TO ACCEPTANCE.

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MR. VANCE'S AIDES SAID THE GOAL OF AN ALL-PARTIES CONFER-

ENCE DOES NOT REQUIRE ACCEPTANCE OF THE BRITISH-AMERICAN PLAN, AND MR. VORSTER, THE SOUTH AFRICAN LEADER, WILL BE URGED TO USE HIS INFLUENCE ON MR. SMITH TO RECONSIDER HIS REJECTION OF SUCH TALKS SO AS TO INVOLVE THE GUERRILLAS IN THE POLITICAL MOVES TOWARD ELECTIONS.

AFTER LEAVING AFRICA, MR. VANCE FLIES TO LONDON FOR A DAY AND A HALF TO TAKE PART IN A MEETING OF THE CENTRAL TREATY ORGANIZATION, A MUTUAL SECURITY GROUPING THAT EMBRACES IRAN, TURKEY, PAKISTAN AND BRITAIN. HE IS DUE TO ARRIVE IN MOSCOW ON APRIL 19.

THE TALKS WITH LEONID I. BREZHNEV, THE COMMUNIST PARTY LEADER, AND FOREIGN MINISTER ANDREI A. GROMYKO WILL BE THE HIGHEST-LEVEL SOVIET-AMERICAN CONTACT SINCE MR. GROMYKO'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON AND NEW YORK LAST SEPTEMBER.

5 MAJOR ISSUES REMAIN

THERE ARE ABOUT FIVE MAJOR ISSUES HOLDING UP CONCLUSION OF A STRATEGIC ARMS AGREEMENT AND MR. VANCE HAS SAID IN ADVANCE THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO NARROW AT LEAST SOME OF THEM.

THE AMERICAN HOPE IS THAT IF THE TALKS ARE PRODUCTIVE, ARRANGEMENTS MAY BE MADE FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS IN THE UNITED STATES IN LATE MAY OR EARLY JUNE, DURING THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON DISARMAMENT.

IT IS POSSIBLE THAT MR. BREZHNEV MIGHT COME TO THE UNITED STATES IN THAT PERIOD, BUT MORE LIKELY THAT MR. GROMYKO WILL HEAD THE SOVIET GROUP.

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A PRINCIPAL ISSUE AWAITING RESOLUTION IS AN AGREEMENT OUTSIDE THE STRATEGIC ARMS ACCORD RELATING TO CONCRETE ASSURANCES FROM MOSCOW THAT ITS BOMBER THAT THE WEST CALLS THE BACKFIRE WILL BE LIMITED IN PRODUCTION AND IN RANGE SO AS NOT TO POSE A STRATEGIC THREAT TO THE UNITED STATES.

OTHER QUESTIONS INVOLVE RESTRAINING THE MODERNIZATION OF CURRENT WEAPONS AND BARRING DEPLOYMENT OF NEW SYSTEMS. A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS ALSO REMAIN ON LIMITING THE AMERICAN CRUISE MISSILES AND ON WHAT THE NUMERICAL LIMITS OF CERTAIN STRATEGIC SYSTEMS SHOULD BE.

SOME OF MR. VANCE'S ADVISERS WERE UNHAPPY WITH HAVING THE MOSCOW TRIP PRECEDED BY THE AFRICAN MISSION SINCE IT HAS TAKEN HIM OUT OF WASHINGTON IN THE IMPORTANT DAYS WHEN MR. CARTER WOULD BE EXPECTED TO MAKE DECISIONS RELATING TO POSSIBLE NEW PROPOSALS ON STRATEGIC ARMS.

MR. VANCE'S AIDES ALSO WERE UNCERTAIN OF THE ATMOSPHERE THAT AWAITED THEM IN MOSCOW. THE PRESIDENT'S ANNOUNCEMENT THAT HIS DECISION ON WHETHER TO EVENTUALLY PRODUCE THE NEUTRON WEAPON WOULD DEPEND ON SOVIET RESTRAINT HAS PROVOKED SHARP PRESS CRITICISM IN MOSCOW.

LIKEWISE, THE DECISION BY ARKADY N. SHEVCHENKO, THE UNDER SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, NOT TO GO BACK TO THE SOVIET UNION HAS PRODUCED SOME HARSH CHARGES BY MOSCOW THAT HE WAS BEING HELD UNDER DURESS BY AMERICAN OFFICIALS--CHARGES THAT THE UNITED STATES DENIES.

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